THE COMMONWEAL

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THE CHURCH IN GERMANY

UNTIL THE text, or at least an official precis of the text, of the Concordat between the Holy See and Germany reaches this country, comment upon that highly important event can at best be only tentative. The secular press reports agree in stating that the essential rights of the Catholic Church have been fully recognized by the new government of the Reich, and that in this respect the Concordat is more specific and more favorable to the spiritual interests of the Catholic religion than were the separate concordats with Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden which already existed. The liberty of the Church to teach its full doctrine, both from its pulpits and in the Catholic schools, is recognized. On the other hand, the demand of the German government that the political action of the Catholic Center party shall cease, and not be resumed, is granted by the Church. It would appear, then, that the apparently well-grounded fear that Catholicism in its essential expression would be attacked by the Nazi regime was either unjustified, or has been averted—at least so far as the official attitude of the Nazi government is concerned. It remains to be seen how far this official attitude corresponds to the real intentions of the Nazi regime, or to the real power of the present rulers of that regime to maintain its official bargain with the Church.

It may be taken for granted that in striking its bargain with the Nazis the Holy See consulted with other German Catholics than the ultra-nationalistic and sword-rattling vice-Chancellor von Papen, who conducted the actual negotiations on behalf of the German government. In particular, of course, the information and the views of the Catholic hierarchy of Germany, must necessarily have been potent factors in the negotiations. The report made by Dr. Max Jordan, the German correspondent of the news service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, or the joint pastoral letter issued by the German bishops last month, enables us to realize the fundamental problems underlying and complicating the relations between German Catholics and the Nazi government. The largest, and obviously the most important episcopal meeting ever held in Germany—at least since the Reformation—this Fulda conference laid down the principles which now guide the policy of

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the Catholic Church in Germany in relation to the new political regime in that country.

First of all, after recognizing "the fundamental change of general circumstances" which has occurred, the bishops state that they "do not underestimate or try to interpose obstacles in the way of the national awakening of Germany." They fully appreciate the high value of an "orderly patriotism." However, the bishops continue, Catholics can never forget, while loving their nation and country, the ties which bind them with other nations and national families, and they recognize "the great world-wide Kingdom of God on earth which Our Saviour has destined to include all men without distinction of language, times, nation or race."

Again, in discussing the authoritarian principle which now prevails in Germany with its tendency to absorb the individual completely within the orbit of the State, the bishops agree—because Catholic doctrine guides them—that the individual should subordinate himself to the community interest for the common good, and point out that the Catholic Church has always insisted on legitimate authority as one of its guiding principles. Yet they immediately add that they expect "that the authority of the State, in accordance with the practice of authority within the Catholic Church, shall not restrict human freedom beyond what is required for the sake of the community's welfare, and that it be adorned with justice, thereby giving and leaving to each subject what belongs to him, be it property, honor, or freedom. Every abuse of authority leads to its own weakening and deterioration, and every injustice which the governmental authority commits by exaggeration or by tolerating excesses against the community by subordinates or unauthorized intruders brings its own punishment for the government the people."

It is in the third section of their pastoral letter that the German bishops express a principle which more perhaps than any other has been abrogated in the philosophy and the practice of the Nazis. After taking a strong stand against the threatened policy of artificial and compulsory sterilization of human beings, now being popularized by many Nazi leaders, the bishops proceed to express very definite views with reference to the National Socialist race and blood theory, which, as Dr. Jordan points out, has come to the fore most prominently in the party's anti-Semitic tendencies.

"We believe," the Pastoral says, "that national unity can be achieved not only by equality of blood, but also by equality of convictions, and that the exclusive emphasis on race and blood in defining national allegiance leads to injustices which burden the Christian conscience, especially when they affect fellow-men who are newly born in Christ through the holy Sacrament of Baptism and have become 'a new being' in Him (2 Cor. V, 17)." As Dr. Jordan points out, this intensely important pronouncement must be understood in the light of recent legal decrees of the new German Government whereby certain severely discriminating provisions are made applicable to Jewish citizens, no not. Again, in the fifth section of the letter, the Church's claim not to be in any way interfered with in its freedom is strongly maintained and all attempts at making her subservient to the State are dismissed as contrary to her very essence.

In short, the bishops, while genuinely accepting the Nazi government in all that it is possible to accept, in the light of Christian doctrine, make these necessary distinctions, and the definitions, which in substance constitute the lines along which the Church must necessarily fight, if the Nazi government, in interpreting the new Concordat, apply its own declared doctrines of state absolutism, and Germanic racialism, instead of Christian principles of justice, liberty, and love. Will that battle come? That depends upon whether those Nazi leaders, Hitler preëminently, who have dealt with the Church, sincerely desire to leave the Church really free in its own sphere of action, as laid down in the Concordat. Moreover, they must demonstrate that they not only have such a desire, but also the power to express it. For there are very powerful forces, led by reckless and determined leaders, within the Nazi party, who desire and plan the utter subjugation of the Catholic Church in Germany to the will of the State. The new Concordat aligns the present German State and the Church in a position which, on paper, maintains the fundamental rights of the Church. If the State is faithful to its contract, the Church can dispense, however regretfully, with the subsidiary activities of the Center Party, and other political bodies, which were useful and effective for good in former circumstances, but which now cannot function in a country which has abolished even the pretence of democratic political action. But if the present State authorities encroach upon the real, fundamental rights of the Catholic Church—which is highly probable the Concordat will furnish a criterion by which the civilized world will be able to judge the new situation. The German bishops express confidence that the new leaders of Germany "will succeed in extinguishing all those sparks and glowing coals which here and there persons desire to fan up into terrible fires against the Catholic Church." Let us hope that this confidence will be justified. Meanwhile, however, there are plenty of sparks blazing in Germany. One of them was the announcement of the arrest, on the day the Concordat was initialed in Rome, of Dr. Stratman, the distinguished Dominican priest who is the leading exponent in Germany of the Catholic principles of international peace.

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WEEK BY WEEK

SIGNS CONTINUE to multiply indicating that President Roosevelt's apparently drastic handling of the London Conference is succeeding even more fundamentally than through the mere imposition of his own will. It is clear that the policy which he is directing, and which ran afoul of the policy of the so-called Gold Bloc countries, is gaining stronger support continually. The effects of his summary dismissal of the program submitted by the gold bloc countries, with at least the tacit approval of the dominant leaders of the English group, and with the approval also of many American delegates, for the immediate stabilization of the dollar, are now apparent. It is clear that a good deal of the disapproval at first voiced, at home as well as abroad, was concerned with the manner of the President's message, rather than its matter. We are reminded of the old vaudeville song: "It ain't exactly what he says: it's the nasty way he says it." Perhaps Mr. Roosevelt's language was a bit peremptory. But that is better than ambiguity. President Roosevelt made clear to all the world that as head of the American government he meant to use that government's power—and its right—to be the final authority, for the benefit of the whole nation, in the management and control of his nation's money power—an authority which at home as well as abroad has long been held by private persons. Much as "national self-sufficiency" has been talked about as the central plank of the New Deal—as it has been revealed in action—it appears to us that the really central measure of the new American policy is the public control, through the government, of money and credit, rather than the system of bankers' control.

Roosevelt Still Dominant

IF THIS analysis is sound, we think that the new American policy is in line with the assumptions of Pope Pius XI, expressed in Quadragesimo Anno. "Immense power and despotic domination," wrote the Pope, "is concentrated in the hands of a few, and those few are frequently only the trustees and directors of invested funds who administer them at their good pleasure. This becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are also able to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were in their hands, the very soul of production so that no one dare to breathe against their will. This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition." Later on he adds that "free competition and still more economic domination must be kept within just and definite limits and must be brought within the effective control of the public authority . . . The public institutions of the nations must be such as to make the whole of human society conform to the common good, i.e., to the standard of social justice." Certainly, even if President Roosevelt fails, his policy at least is commensurate with ideals of social justice, which the hit-or-miss methods, to say nothing about the mere selfish greed, of international finance, know nothing about, and care less.

READERS OF THE COMMONWEAL will be glad to know that a new French review serves a very similar purpose in much the same way. It is called *l'Esprit* and has been founded, without capital other than is received through subscriptions, by a group of younger men deeply interested in the reform of existing social and intellectual conditions. Though a monthly, the issues which have appeared so far possess a striking actuality and, despite a modicum of programmatic quality, much generous openness of mind. The editorship is Catholic, but others are invited to contribute to the discussion of matters which after all concern society as a whole. We assume that the number of subscribers is as yet rather small, particularly since much for which *l'Esprit* stands is necessarily unpopular. American readers of French, whom the standard Catholic reviews published in Paris have disappointed, will, we believe, find in this new periodical something very stimulating and helpful. Our own impressions are such that we are most enthusiastic supporters of *l'Esprit*. Those interested may address the editorship at 76 bis, Rue des Saints-Pères, Paris (VIIe). It might be added that every educated Catholic in a position to do so ought to enter into contact with Catholic effort elsewhere through some such medium as this. Against this internationalism there is no possible argument.

French Catholic Effort

NOW THAT public anxiety has been allayed as to the safety of James Mattern, it may be in order to suggest a moratorium on that particular sort of flight. There is a place in pioneering, of course, for the most breathless and foolhardy courage; there is even a place for the achievement which has no relation to constructive possibilities, and proves nothing except that it can be done. But these things cannot be repeated too often. To go on incurring supernormal hazards, and stretching human endurance and human luck a little beyond their imaginable limit, for purposes that are fruitless and really freakish, is not to add to the dignity and prestige of aviation, but to descend to the status of a stunter at a county fair. Mattern is a romantic

Advice to a Flyer

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figure—young, courageous, a good flyer, and possessing the glamour of the "charmed-lifer." His Siberian saga makes stirring reading, as a mere adventure; he landed a wrecked plane without getting hurt, roamed through the trackless tundra for more than two weeks feeding scantily on wild game which he brought down with a rifle given him at Khabarovsk, his taking-off point, was rescued by native Chukchi and brought to Anadyr, where he made a junction with the Soviet patrol. A very pretty story—but we must not call it aviation. He did not do what he set out to do, which was, one gathers ,to emulate or better the Post-Gatty flight. Even if he completes his itinerary in a new plane (his reported intention), he will not be giving the world anything it can use. We hope that his next effort will be something unspectacular and solid, worthy of the skill and heart which no one doubts he can bring to it.

Yo-Yo Through the Years

IT MAY be revealed, perhaps, that one of the dignified editors of *America* has succumbed mildly to the fascinations of the Yo-Yo. He is still in that stage where the thing is not quite mastered—or is it ever mastered? Is it forever like the little white pill in golf always suggesting a not impossible but rarely probable par? He has shown his great character by not succumbing to the thing as have some players. He only approaches it in his few, and they are few, idle moments and keeps the innocent indulgence within Thomistic bounds of proportion. His Yo-Yo was a gift from the wife of one of our own editors who was nervously twirling it during a meeting of the Catholic Poetry Society and heard the *America* editor say, "Oh, I never had one of those." The latter with true literary instinct has delved into the history of the thing and sends a clipping which reveals that the Yo-Yo used to be known in this country some hundred years ago as the "bandilore" and quotes from an old book: "About the beginning of the eighteenth century [that is about 1800] the bandilore became suddenly a fashionable toy under the name of Quiz, and scarcely any person of fashion was without one. Easy as it looked, and as it was when properly managed, it require some little skill."

Lord that I May See

AN INVITATION to the Seventeenth Commencement and solemn dedication of the new Administration Building by His Eminence, Patrick Cardinal Hayes, which reached our desk recently calls to mind the splendid work of the Catholic Institute for the Blind at 221st Street and Paulding Avenue, New York City. "Lord that I may see" is the unexpressed request that comes with every new child sent to the Institute. These children do not ask to be given sight, but they do ask to have revealed to them through training and education, some of the beauties and the meaning of life, for "knowledge is love, and light and vision." It is the aim of the Catholic Institute for the Blind to provide for sightless children an education suited to their needs, which will enable them to be self-supporting later on. The education of a blind child means more than schooling and religious training. It includes teaching the child how to care for himself. Almost infinite patience is required to teach these little ones the things which normal children learn easily through observation and imitation. Vocational work, consisting of basket weaving and commercial courses, forms part of the program; music lessons are given to many of the children. The new Administration Building just dedicated, with the splendid brick dormitories built a few years ago, make up a plant as fine as that of any child-caring institution in the country. The buildings are well constructed, beautifully equipped, and suited to the purposes for which they are intended. Should not we, who are more fortunate, consider it a privilege to do Christ's work for these, His afflicted little ones, in answer to their petition "Lord that I may see?"

Nightmare Down Under

WHICH produces more crawling horror, the jungle or the ocean? It is a nice question. The jungle has some beauties—and by this are not meant, of course, honest man-eating tigres. There are the dreadful heads and living coils of snakes, the paralyzing repulsiveness of crocodiles, the armies of small blood-sucking life—Rose Macauly has listed them somewhere in a novel: ticks and mites and woodlice; there are the ants, devourers of soil and men, and the tarantulas such as the one Julian Duguid describes—furry and black like a kitten. But the ocean is probably the jungle's match, in power over the imagination if not in perturbing species. There is no child who does not catch his breath in horror at the thought of what he would see if the waters went dry. "Slimy things that walked with legs upon the slimy sea" was Coleridge's expression of it; and now comes a sober news report from Australia, to go him one better. Giant crabs have blockaded the Melbourne harbor, it is said. Pear-shaped, red and several feet from claw-tip to claw-tip, they are savagely extinguishing all smaller marine life, and tearing up the strongest nets with their incredible pincers. The money loss is already high, and it is proposed to lower huge rollers to crush the invasion. They will be disposed of somehow, of course—smashed or poisoned or dynamited. But who does not see in the picture of monster crustaceans, moving in tons of voracious menace along the bottom of the sea, a nightmare come true?

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DISORDERED INDUSTRY

THE MIDDLE of the ocean is probably the best point from which to adjudge the industrial and economic difficulties with which men are contending. For the ocean is the great scene of trade, and trade is essentially that round which all moves. The ocean also affords that finest possible illustration of the convergence of industrial factors—the ship. This ship exists in order that certain functions may be performed, and its success is contingent upon the rational use of means partly suggested by natural conditions and partly devised by technical skill.

Nevertheless it clearly depends, every mile of the way, upon fluctuating weather and stout-hearted human intelligence. And so it is, for one who stops to think about the matter, a perfect summary of those things which are indispensable to business activity which hopes to do much for the good of many.

During the past we probably laid too much stress upon the personal and the so-called "individual" in business. Because we assumed that gifted leaders could somehow conjure economic returns out of a hat, we reflected far too little upon the rational, collective use of economic materials and technical devices. The era of *laissez faire* was based upon the delusion that the world of industrial facts is responsible to human imagination. We looked upon great business men as if they were artists and spoiled them accordingly. They were paid fabulously well for their services, even as movie stars are paid now. That such assumptions were erroneous goes without saying. It was like believing that a ship captain could take a thousand passengers and a valuable cargo across the sea in a raft, despite wind and waves.

Today we are in some danger of rushing to the opposite extreme—of fixing a look of admiration upon the mechanics of industry. Almost all talk of "national economy planning" involves some peril. It is taken for granted that if industrial activity could be confined within a limited area, devices might then be invented to insure perfect automatic control of the results. Russia has, from this point of view, exerted a great deal of influence particularly upon more or less academic observers of economic facts. These men are fascinated by planning *per se* which seems to them an application of the slide-rule to the most fundamental of all the efforts of mankind. The state becomes for them a kind of super-Goethals adjusting one part of the economic "machine" to another part. Business men survive only as functionaries, however loath one may be to employ the term. There is every reason to believe that this extreme view, regardless of how popular it may be, will prove at least as erroneous as the doctrine which it seeks to supplant.

We are the last to deny that the modern industrial situation demands government coöperation. The social needs and rights of the majority can be struggled for with so much political power that even the peace—most fundamental of all the prerequisites of trade—will be threatened unless the nation employs a central power to mitigate injustices and to curb unlimited freedom of action. But the said power can create no "machine" guaranteed to operate. In the first place, there exists no body of scientific data sufficient to justify the belief that any "plan" will work out even fairly well. The state must therefore proceed—even as the United States seems to be proceeding—on the assumption that great creative leadership in government of a new type has been found and that its claim to creative and experimental action is justified. Secondly, this government itself must necessarily be human. It suffers from all the weaknesses and quirks to which the efforts of man are everywhere subject. Just as the ship does not run itself, just as the engineer cannot devise a vessel that will function automatically, so also no amount of "political science" can effect a state which ought to be trusted explicitly.

Still more erroneous is the notion that economic units can ever be merely "national." Occasionally European powers are caught by demands for protectionism and debt relief, giving way then to frenzied demands for this or that specious limitation of trade in order that certain groups may benefit. But when the United States talks of national economic planning something entirely different is meant. Historically and actually the rhythm of American industry has been quite individual. As a country blessed with great riches in raw materials and a market for goods produced in mass quantities, the United States does not resemble industrially the nations of the old world. It is therefore assumed that individuality must be conserved at all costs and that conservation can be accomplished only by isolation. Within limits these views are doubtless correct. An international order satisfactory to us does not exist, and the first aim must therefore be national order. But why we should desire to shut ourselves off from the markets of the world is most obscure.

There is no doubting that some fundamental changes must be effected if our system of production, credit and trade is to meet the demands expressed by increasingly large numbers of people. But not every change is the right change. The citizen who wishes to do what he can for the general good will now weigh, more carefully than ever before, the suggestions made by those who seek to improve conditions. It would be good for us all if those who still think a little these days were to attempt to regard what is happening from outside—from let us say, a hypothetical spot somewhere in the middle of the ocean.

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THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

By VICTOR H. DANIEL

In proportion to the rest of the United States, the Virgin Islands no doubt are as a pin point, and the problems of their natives may seem like the old question of the angels, negligible. To the Virgin Islanders, however, these things are unimpressive. They have their lives to make complete, their struggles in which they may feel that they are neglected because they are not a part of continental United States. These deserve their day in the consideration of their fellow-citizens.—The Editors.

IN THIS brief discussion of the latest territorial acquisition of the United States, no attempt will be made to pass judgment on the administration of any of the nations who from time to time have controlled the destiny of the Virgin Islands. It is rather the purpose of this paper to bring before you the various forces and causes which have been responsible, to a large extent, for the ups and downs of these islands. I shall consider only the years from 1848 to 1932, which is the period most directly concerned with present conditions.

Slavery was abolished in the Danish West Indies in July, 1848; since that abolition was brought about by an insurrection on the part of the slaves, no adequate preparation was made to admit them as freedmen into civil and economic life. The cessation of slave labor was a very heavy blow to the agricultural life of the islands. Before the planters could fully adjust themselves to the new economic state so suddenly brought about by the emancipation of the slaves, the islands, in 1867, were visited by a severe hurricane, followed by earthquake, fire and pestilence. A tidal wave which accompanied the earthquake destroyed nearly all the ships, lighters and wharves in St. Thomas, and the American man-of-war Monongahela, at anchor in the harbor of Frederickstead, St. Croix, was washed ashore in the market place of that port. This disaster damaged the world-wide prestige of its great harbor, by sending shipping elsewhere.

Suffering from the effects of the still recent war with Austria and Prussia (1864), the mother country, Denmark, could lend but little assistance to her stricken islands in the Caribbean.

Years earlier, the United States, failing to secure a naval base from the Haitian and Dominican Republics, had become interested in the Danish West Indies; and the War between the States, 1861-1865, demonstrated very clearly our need for a naval and coaling station in the Caribbean Sea. Shortly after the assassination of Lincoln, his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, went to Cuba for his health. Visiting St. Thomas on the way, he determined to secure the island for the United States. He asked Denmark to name a price, which she refused to do. The matter was eventually placed before the Danish Cabinet in 1866, and after much negotiating, the Danish government finally offered the United States the three islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, for $15,000,000; she was later persuaded to set a price of $7,500,000 for St. Thomas and St. John, but the United States Senate did not receive the offer with any marked degree of favor.

During the early years of the Reconstruction Period in the United States, St. Thomas gradually recovered from the loss of confidence in her maritime safety, caused by the hurricane of 1867, and began to regain some of her former commercial prestige; her increasing prosperity was reflected in the commercial life of St. Croix and St. John.

In 1896 the Republican party incorporated in its platform a plank requiring the purchase of the Danish West Indies; and in 1898 the senior senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, introduced in the Senate a bill to purchase the group for $5,000,000. Again in 1902 President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary John Hay offered the Danish government $5,000,000 for the islands. This was accepted and the required treaty was drawn up and submitted to the United States Senate, where it failed of ratification; at the same time, meeting much opposition in Denmark. Apprehension in this country over the possibility of the seizure of the islands as a naval base by Germany finally rushed the sale through in 1917, at a wartime price of $25,000,000. For that $25,000,000, the United States acquired, in addition to a very fine naval base, the responsibility for the 27,000 inhabitants of the islands, most of whom were of Negro descent.

As science and invention have relegated to an ever-receding background those elements of time and human skill, formerly so essential in the production and transportation of the commodities of the world of commerce, these three islands have lagged behind in the economic scale.

St. Thomas's importance as a port of call began to decline when the increased use of steam power for motivation, and the development of the means of communication through electrical energy, superseded wind and sail and revolutionized navigation. Iron ships put an end to the four shipyards with their hundreds of highly paid mechanics and apprentices. Telegraphy sharply reduced the length of time necessary for ships to remain in the harbor awaiting orders from their owners.

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This, in turn, affected the business of the three islands in a very vital way.

It is true that steam vessels brought the coal wharves; but the coaling of ships, largely by female labor, started a chain of economic and social evils which have found their echo in many of the unpleasant facts with which the islands are faced today, and of which most islanders are ashamed. It is easy now to visualize a time when oil burners and electrically driven vessels will replace the comparatively wasteful method of propelling ships by steam power generated with coal. When that time arrives, to what industry can the coal-passers turn for employment, and on whom will the merchants depend for their trade?

St. Croix has depended for her existence on the production of sugar, molasses and the famous Crucian rum. The sugar crop of 1838 was valued at $3,750,000. But there has been a steady decline in the profits from the sugar industry ever since the emancipation of the slaves in 1848.

The soil of St. John, which once supported a large thriving population, is now devoted almost exclusively to the growing of bay trees for the production of bay rum. This soil could certainly be made to produce truck and field crops for home consumption and the support of livestock, and diversification of the means of existence should gradually increase the dwindling population of the island.

Many Americans and Europeans sojourning on the islands, especially St. Thomas, have testified to their mild and healthful climate, yet statistics submitted to the Department of the Interior by Dr. James E. Gregg, former president of Hampton Institute, Virginia, and Dr. Robert Russa Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, show a high death rate among both infants and adults.

There have been schools in the Virgin Islands ever since 1697. Reading classes for slaves were established in 1733 by Moravian missionaries, to whom much praise should be given for the work.

Four years after the emancipation of the slaves compulsory education was started. Children from six to thirteen years of age were required to attend school regularly. Most of these schools were parochial schools operated by the various denominations, but subsidized by the government, and conducted under government supervision. Such elementary education was compulsory through the sixth grade only. For secondary education, which was not compulsory, there were several so-called colleges operated under private auspices. While suffering from the same misnomer as many American educational institutions, and therefore not colleges in any strict interpretation of the word, these schools did excellent secondary work of a purely academic character, many of their graduates, scions of well-to-do families, entering the la[illegible]les" European colleges without difficulty. Comparatively few students found their way to American educational institutions until after the acquisition of the islands by the United States. Consequently, the culture of these possessions is predominantly European.

St. Thomas has been variously referred to as "a worthless colony to be sold," "a pearl amidst the ocean," "a sparkling emerald gem," "the pearl of the Antilles," and a "poor house." Between these extremes of opinion lies the truth.

The literacy rating of the islands is high; and both soil and climate are favorable to normal living according to the best modern standards. The future status of these American possessions depends upon their official handling, and the manner of that handling rests, in turn, upon the viewpoint from which they are considered.

For instance, St. Thomas and her sister islands may be considered purely as a naval base, and all energy focused on improving them as such. In this case the social, cultural and economic status of the natives would be of little moment; could, in fact, be almost disregarded, providing these people proved law-abiding and peaceful, and therefore not a menace to men on shore leave, or officers in temporary quarters.

Then again, these islands may be considered entirely in the light of a tourist center; in which case hotel accommodations for Americans and Europeans would determine the direction of their development; and modern improvements outside the tourist area would naturally yield place to the preservation of the picturesque in costumes and customs, on which attractions most tourist centers are dependent for part of their revenue.

On the other hand, it is possible to see in these islands the home of an integral part of our American population, not only a law-abiding, but an intelligent, progressive, capable, and self-supporting citizenry. From this viewpoint effort should be directed to needs of that population. It is possible to see a beauty spot, unspoiled by sore points of squalor, where those seeking health and rest could find both under ideal conditions.

Such a picture in no way destroys that of the Virgin Islands as a naval base. A port which is an acceptable and proper home for American citizens should be no less acceptable as a haven for our ships and their personnel. To Virgin Islanders, these beautiful islands are home. If they are to be an asset to this country, they must be considered as such.

Like all other Americans, in this period when we are attempting to bring order out of chaos, the Islanders are looking to President Roosevelt for a "new deal" for this "victim of modern progress," this "poor house," this "Pearl of the Antilles"—this home of American citizens.

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A NEW DEAL IN HOUSING

By JOHN O'GRADY

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S recovery bill provides a splendid opportunity for the development of a constructive housing program for the lower third of our population. The extent to which the opportunity is used will depend on how far the public appreciates its importance. Those who recognize that it is impossible for the lower third of the population to secure proper housing under present conditions must endeavor to arouse the sympathy of the people for their cause. They should find their most sympathetic allies among those who have a first-hand knowledge of the conditions under which this lower third lives.

What is needed most at the present time is that those who are interested in low-cost housing and slum clearance in different cities have a clear understanding of their problems and be prepared with a definite program. The federal government is prepared to make funds available for low-cost housing both in the form of loans and of grants. It is willing to assume the leadership in a housing program, but it cannot succeed except on the basis of local coöperation and local leadership.

Cleveland, as I understand, is the only city in the country that has made a complete study of its housing needs. In this study, it has taken into account the whole question of population distribution and the peculiar problems of its different racial groups. The Cleveland study might very well be made the basis of similar studies in other cities.

Low-cost housing is not merely a matter of a few experiments here and there. It is a part of a national program. The time is not far distant when housing will be placed in the same category as education. It has long since been assumed that every child has a right to a certain minimum of education. We are now coming to the conclusion that lack of decent housing is just as detrimental to individual and family life is the lack of elementary education.

The various experiments in low-cost housing that have been conducted up to date will be useful in developing the national program. The time has now come for the merging of scattered experiments into a program that will deal in a comprehensive way with the housing needs of the American wage-earner.

Low-cost housing must be studied as a part of a national program of economic planning. In building homes for wage-earners we must consider the whole question of their future prospects for employment. There is no particular use in building homes for wage-earners in places where they cannot find work. It is very clear that a fairly large number of the unemployed can never again find work in the cities. Plans must be made for their settlement on subsistence farms. In many places it will be possible for them to combine subsistence farming with seasonal industrial work. A housing program must, therefore, not only reckon with the providing for the needs of workers in the city, but also with their settlement on subsistence farms.

Students usually distinguish four important phases in the development of governmental policy in regard to housing. First, there is the need to regulate, to prescribe certain minimum requirements to which buildings must conform. While it is still assumed that private initiative can meet all the housing needs of the community, it is admitted that it may lead, however, to certain excesses which should be prevented. Private initiative must not be permitted to reach the point of undermining the general health and welfare of the community. If it is not possible to control or eliminate some of the worst features of private housing, an appeal should be made to the enlightened business opinion of the community to aid in developing a housing program. Why should employers not be able to provide adequate housing for their employees? If the payment of high wages is a good business policy, why should not the providing of adequate housing also be a good business policy? Many American employers partly from business and partly from philanthropic policy did endeavor to provide adequate housing for their employees. What employers were able to do, however, reached only a small section of the entire wage-earning group. And then there was always the question as to whether the housing of its employees by an industry did not give it too much control over them.

A few years ago there was a great hope that philanthropists and enlightened investors would come to the rescue in the housing situation. Many persons believed that a safe and sane investment of private funds was by no means incompatible with proper housing standards. The investor would be satisfied with limited dividends, but in return he would have a kind of security not available under other forms of investment. In order to encourage him government would exempt from taxation the improvements made through the use of his funds. Its supporters cannot take very much pride in the progress of the limited dividend program. Only one state, New York, made provision for limited dividend corporations to be financed by private capital. It may very well be contended that the failure of the limited dividend

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program has not been due so much to its basic unsoundness as to the lack of proper public support. The chances are that with a better public appreciation of its objectives the limited dividend corporation would have become a much more important factor in the whole housing situation.

When the National Relief and Construction Act of last year made provision for the loaning of federal funds through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to local limited dividend corporations, it raised high hopes in the minds of those interested in low-cost housing and slum clearance. This was a great step in advance. It would no longer be necessary to rely on private capital to provide low-cost housing. Henceforth, the credit of the federal government would be available for the purpose. It was hoped that the limited dividend corporation would be given a much fairer trial. It would be possible for it to borrow from 85 to 90 percent of its funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. All that was needed was an equity of 10 to 15 percent. It looked as if we were at the beginning of a new day in low-cost but decent and adequate housing.

As one looks back over the nine months in which federal credit has been available for housing he must confess a feeling of disappointment at the results. Seven states have made provision for limited dividend corporations. This is a small number considering that some forty-two state legislatures have been in session this winter. Four projects have been submitted to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, three in New York City and one in Cleveland. Two projects in New York City have been approved. Due to the opposition of real estate interests one of these projects, however, has been held in abeyance. It is easy to place the blame on the officials of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It has been contended, and rightly, that they have not provided the leadership necessary for a great reconstruction program. If they had given proper inspiration and counsel, the cities and states would have been much more inclined to use federal credit in financing housing and other projects of a public character. The fact remains, however, that no matter what leadership we may have in Washington we cannot have adequate housing until we develop a wider interest in the problem in our local communities. In order that federal assistance may be effective, local communities must understand their housing problems and know how to go about meeting them.

Many persons are beginning to wonder how far we can expect to develop an adequate housing program for American wage-earners through government credit alone. They are asking how far government credit will be sufficient to meet the situation. Under the present credit program of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, it would not be possible to secure good housing standards in New York City for less than $12.50 a room per month. This is based on an interest rate of 5 percent and approximately 2 percent amortization fee. Now it doesn't require very much argument to show that $12.50 a room is entirely beyond the reach of the lowest third of the population. In Cleveland with its much lower land values, it will in all probability be possible, through government credit, to provide decent housing for $7.00 a room per month.

In studying the possibilities of low-cost housing through the use of federal credit, we are liable to be influenced too much by the experience of New York City with its abnormally high land values. It is not possible to secure suitable land on the lower East Side of New York for less than $13.00 a square foot. It most other cities suitable land can be obtained at $.75 a square foot. There is also a possibility of securing more liberal credit than that provided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation at the present time.

Those who are seriously interested in providing decent housing standards for the lowest third of our population believe that this country will repeat the experience of England after the war. For thirty years England had experimented with limited dividend corporations aided by public credit. From the experience of these thirty years England learned that through public credit alone it could not secure decent housing for its industrial population. It was, therefore, compelled to adopt a program of public housing.

The National Recovery Bill shows that the United States is not going to be satisfied with government credit alone in financing a program of low-cost housing. The recovery bill calls for federal credit to limited dividend corporations engaged in low-cost housing, and slum clearance. It also provides for federal grants to states and local communities of 30 percent of the labor and materials used in low-cost housing projects. The government is, therefore, prepared to attack the housing program not only through the use of federal credit but also through grants in aid.

With the preliminary work that has already been done it should not be very difficult to develop an extensive low-cost housing program through the use of federal credit during the next two years. The progress of public housing will probably be much slower. It will be necessary for the various states to pass enabling legislation before public housing can be gotten under way.

The willingness of the federal government to loan its credit and to provide grants in aid is an indication that we are at the beginning of a new day in American housing. We are coming to recognize that decent housing standards are essential to the health and well-being of the people. If these standards cannot be secured by government credit the government must call on its tax funds.

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TO BE ONLY WISE IS NOT WISDOM

By PADRAIC COLUM

ONCE, when I was walking down a street in Dublin with him, John Butler Yeats said to me, "Our liking for people is in inverse ratio to their sense of self-preservation," and this saying explained to me why certain very admirable people are often not warmly liked by us—

> "Men whom every virtue decks,
> And women, models of their sex,
> Society's true ornaments—"

their sense of self-preservation obscurely realized by us diminishes the liking that we might expect to have for them. And then I thought that it needs a dramatic confrontation to show us that no matter how admirable certain people of importance may be, they have not a character that we can truly venerate and love, since they lack the quality which overbalances their sense of self-preservation.

Such a confrontation took place in 1803 in the neighborhood of the street we were in when I heard that illuminating sentence. It took place when William Conyngham Plunket and Robert Emmet faced each other in a court-house that was near by. Plunket was that rare person in eighteenth-century Ireland, a man whose talent was equal to his character and whose character was equal to his talent. It had fallen to him to pronounce the last words of defiance to the destroyers of the Irish Parliament. His speeches against the Union had that massive common sense united to high feeling and dignity of utterance which belongs to great orations. If corruption had not been so utterly shameless, he would have defeated those who were promoting the Union and then would have stood out as the statesman who could establish a genuine dual monarchy which would have left Ireland a powerful partner in the British Empire. His liberal and enlightened policy would have removed Catholic disabilities and given the bulk of the Irish people a citizenship that was being denied them. Had the Union been defeated William Conyngham Plunket would have been Grattan's successor and the establisher of Burke's constitutionalism in Ireland. Corruption destroyed the great career that was before him. There was no longer an Irish Legislature. And Plunket, having opposed the party who had carried the Union, was not in line for any great employment. But, of course, he was a noted man —eminent at the bar, high-principled and liberal.

Three years after the Union was carried, a young man of good family attempted an insurrection in Dublin. The attempt failed ignominiously. All that happened was that a back-street rabble shed a helpless person's blood. The young man, Robert Emmet, was put on trial for treason and William Conyngham Plunket was one of the lawyers who arraigned him for the crown.

If anyone had charged him with apostasy on the grounds that he was prosecuting one who had moved for the independence of his country, all Plunket would have had to do would be to repeat a sentence out of one of his speeches against the Union. "For me, I do not hesitate to declare that if the madness of the revolutionist should tell me you must sacrifice the British connection, I would adhere to that connection in preference to the independence of my country. But I have as little hesitation in saying that if the wanton ambition of a minister should assault the freedom of Ireland and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connection to the winds, and I should clasp the independence of my country to my heart."

No, in prosecuting a foiled revolutionist Plunket was not abjuring any principle of his. Irish independence to him meant an Irish Parliament owing allegiance to a sovereign common to Ireland and Great Britain, a parliament composed of men of property; he conceived of liberty in Burke's terms—growth from within a constitution. To Emmet independence meant a republic cut off from Great Britain and representing a democracy as in the American states and revolutionary France—a democracy made up of such men as Plunket was to mock at in his prosecutor's speech —"Dowdall the clerk, Quigley the bricklayer, Strafford the baker." No, the anti-union tribune could not be charged with apostasy.

But through his arraignment of the young revolutionist there breaks no sympathy for defeat, no compassion for a fine life brought to its close; no gesture or tone of the prosecutor shows him to be anything else than a man of the world—not unduly self-seeking, but still a man who knows no values that would let him shed a ray of glory on what he opposes, a man without that unlikely virtue which we name magnanimity and which is nothing else than the power of identifying ourselves with something opposite to our aims, that virtue which puts Julius Caesar, for instance, in a different order of men from Napoleon, that virtue which cannot go with a strong sense of self-preservation. Plunket could talk down to a man who stood under the scaffold: "If this unfortunate young gentleman retains any seeds of humanity in his heart, or possesses any of these qualities which a virtuous education in a liberal seminary must have planted in his bosom, he will make an atonement to his

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God and his country by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes." Emmet employed what time he had—he had the day following the prosecutor's recommendation—in getting ready a reply to the judge's expected inquiry as to whether he had anything to say as to why sentence of death should not be passed on him. The next day the dogs were lapping his blood under the scaffold in Thomas Street, and Dublin Castle was ready to offer Plunket preferment leading to the Lord Chancellorship, and a peerage.

But this Robert Emmet whose intervention in affairs had been so slight, so disastrous and so ignominious, regarded himself as a man of worth —a Plutarchan man. He was certain that his name and his aims would be kept in his country's memory. He spoke then as if those equals of his who were not present, but whom his country would some time produce, were within hearing of the voice that came from the prisoner's dock. And what he said was to make his and not Plunket's the last of the great Irish orations. Plunket's scorn had branded when he said, indicating Castlereagh: "I cannot fear that the constitution which has been founded by the wisdom of sages and cemented by the blood of patriots and heroes, is to be smitten to the center by such a green and sapless twig as this." But Emmet's scorn had truer barb. "Sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before the jury were empanelled. Your lordships are only the priests of the oracle, and I insist on the whole of the forms."

Plunket had said, "In all events, I have my exceeding great reward; I shall bear in my heart the consciousness of having done my duty, and in the hour of my death I shall not be haunted by the reflection of having basely sold or meanly abandoned the liberty of my native land." But Emmet said, "Be patient yet! I have but a few more words to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world—it is the charity of your silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let no prejudice nor ignorance asperse them. Let them and me rest in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, and my memory in oblivion, until other times and men can do justice to my character."

Plunket had said, "For my own part I will resist it to the last gasp of my existence and with the last drop of my blood, and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom." But Emmet said, "I who have subjected myself to the dangers of the jealous and watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave, only to give my countrymen their rights, and my country her independence." Plunket's children, one should add, did not have Hannibal's oath laid upon them.

After he had appeared as Emmet's prosecutor a great career commenced for William Conyngham Plunket: he was made solicitor-general, then attorney-general; member for Dublin University in the House of Commons, he had a seat that never had to be contested; he became a cabinet-minister; he was made a peer; he made £120,000 at the bar; he reached the woolsack. Moreover, he was the head of a forth-putting dynasty: he made one of his sons a bishop, another a chairman of a county, a third a commissioner of bankrupts, another a vicar; he had places in the Church and State to give to relatives to the third and fourth generations. Castlereagh declared that the Plunket family drew £36,000 a year from the public coffers. Lord Plunket denied that his family got quite this amount. Still, he could not be expected to feel that he had to apologize for being rich, titled, influential, a Lord Chancellor. After all, although he had a son a bishop, he was born a Presbyterian; he must have had a conviction about the Elect—the Elect who showed that choice had been made of them by having means and authority (Sir James Macintosh, in a speech that Plunket replied to, spoke about the dismissal of a certain peer as being an outrage "on honor and virtue, on rank and fortune" and Plunket did not find anything peculiar in this combination).

Means and authority should not be acquired by corrupt dealings with ministries, and the Lord Chancellor could say that he had never truckled for place or power. He used his great prestige and talents in a struggle to restore Catholics to their citizenship in the British Islands. With authority and fervor he argued the case for Catholic emancipation, contradicting the dictum that the law did not presume that an Irish Roman Catholic existed. He put those who opposed emancipation on the defensive. His speeches in the House of Commons ranked with the greatest orations that had been heard there. They were, as the editor of his speeches said, "more like the language of some great noble of the robe, speaking with the sense that estates of the realm really hung upon his words, than the common partizan declamation of the House of Commons, which has no horizon but the opposite benches and the reporter's gallery." A great noble of the robe was what he was, but that limited him. When the Catholic Association was formed under Daniel O'Connell and proceeded to arbitrate and to settle differences, Plunket moved for its suppression: the good that the Catholic Association might accomplish should remain undone rather than an example should be given of social and political

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action that did not proceed from Parliament.

Catholic emancipation was won, and Plunket's political career closed. He had his high legal office, his great house and fine estate and was the head of a busy and successful clan. He lived long enough to fall into a second childhood. At that stage he liked to talk to simple people and to prattle with children in the houses about his estate—the houses of people such as Emmet brought forward as framers of constitutions and subverters of empires—"Dowdall the clerk, Quigley the bricklayer, Strafford the baker." In such houses he would be likely to look on a single picture—that of a young man setting out on a revolutionary venture, or the same young man making a speech before the judge who had sentenced him. Perhaps as he looked upon one or the other of these pictures the old man remembered what he had charged that young man with, and perhaps he saw once more a badly-lighted court-house at the hour of ten o'clock at night, with that young man "moving about the dock as he warmed to his address, with rapid, but not ungraceful motions—now in front of the railing before the bench, then retiring, as if his body as well as his mind, were swelling beyond the measure of his chains," while speaking with a voice so strong as to be distinctly heard at the outer door of the court-house, "and yet though he spoke in a loud tone there was nothing boisterous in his manner." Perhaps he heard once more that distinct voice declare, "I do not imagine that seated where you are, your mind can be so free from prejudice as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trameled as this is. I only wish, and that is the utmost that I expect, that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the foul breath of prejudice until it find some more hospitable harbor from the storms by which it is buffeted. The man dies but his memory lives."

What an extraordinary belief in himself he had, that young enthusiast who was able to suppose that his name and fame would be of interest to generations—he who had never moved senates, nor shaped the laws of his country, nor helped to remove from numbers of his fellow-countrymen a galling disability! He was fifty years now in his unmarked grave. The former Lord Chancellor may have pondered this, and it may have entered his dim mind that sentence had been passed on himself when he had heard Castlereagh express a sluggardly triumph over the greatest of the anti-union tribunes. "I lived long enough in Ireland during a disastrous period of its history to know how far delusions might be carried on by popular agitators and had soon seen those who had been so deluded afterwards become faithful subjects and zealous supporters of the laws."

A Catholic Counter-irritant

By JOSEPH H. McMAHON

THE APPROACHING centenary of the beginning of the Oxford Movement has already made itself felt in numerous articles in sober periodicals and also in various books of greater or less value. In the *Month,* the editor, Father Keating, S.J., has been repeatedly attacking, in a valuable series of articles, what seems to be the last stand of present-day adherents of that movement, that, namely, the Anglican Church is really a vital branch of the One Church of Christ. Our own Catholic magazines have recently been devoting considerable space to various aspects of the movement. In an unusually informative article in the *American Catholic Historical Magazine,* Dr. Edwin Ryan has called attention to the very interesting fact that the movement was really earlier in the United States than in England, and has enumerated an imposing list of stalwart converts as its result. There can be no question of the potent influence of Newman in bringing many converts to the Catholic Church in this country. In spite of the very different conditions here and in England, the unfortunate Branch theory is keeping many sincere people out of the true fold. They are convinced that had Newman lived to see the development of the movement in the Church of England, he would not have left her communion. It is difficult for us "born" Catholics to see this: but it is at least desirable to clear up the point. That it will be the theme most insisted upon in the forthcoming Congress at Oxford in July is the opinion of those amongst us best qualified to judge. Hence in England steps are being taken to offset that position.

At first it was thought that the best way to do this was to have a Catholic celebration of the centenary. But with his usual good sense, Cardinal Bourne discouraged this idea. Why should Catholics celebrate the preaching of a sermon which was essentially Protestant and which left its author in that communion? The time for Catholics to celebrate will be in 1945, a year that marks the first great fruit of Keble's sermon on national Apostasy, when John Henry Newman, by making his submission to the Church of Rome, against which he had fought so valiantly and at times so bitterly, dealt the Church of England a blow from which, as Gladstone said, she is still (now as then) reeling.

The new editor of *Blackfriars,* Father Bede Jarrett, O.P., Prior of Blackfriars, Oxford, has conceived another mode of countering the position sure to be taken at the approaching conference, if one can judge from the preliminary "literature." This is to compile in the July issue of that Dominican periodical an exhaustive study of Newman's ideas in his pre-Catholic days, for the purpose of showing that "his principles were such that they would have driven him to Rome at any time anywhere in the history of Christendom," (*Blackfriars,* June, 1933.)

Accordingly the July *Blackfriars* will be a symposium on the pre-Catholic Newman. Naturally, his brethren of the Oratory will contribute largely. Father Francis J. Bacchus will deal with the religious development of Newman's thought between 1813 and 1833. The historical setting of the movement will be described by Father Henry

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Tristram of the Oratory. For the first time the patristic theology of Newman will be adequately treated, and this by Abbot Chapman, whose reputation as a student of the Fathers is unrivaled. Other articles will show that Newman and Froude were determined to make a stir before Keble preached his sermon.

This should prove a fascinating study for all who are interested not only in the most remarkable religious movement of the nineteenth century, but in the mental life of its chief personage, whose influence has been felt, we might truthfully say, throughout the Western Church. Father Bede Jarrett concludes his announcement of this important study in these significant words: "In this way we hope to provide a valuable study on the pre-Catholic Newman, which shall show that the Oxford Movement as a movement up to the time that he left it was definitely committed to Rome. When he saw that this was its inevitable tendency, he followed it. But from that moment, its principles were gradually changed, so that it came at last to stand for something less clear, less patristic, more Protestant than it had at first. With Newman's secession its story was really over. A new story began. It seems possible that in a period of greater realism the unfinished masterpiece that he had hoped to build to God in the Church of England may in days not too far distant be recognized and completed."

It is planned to see that every attendant at this Protestant Congress at Oxford receives a copy of this antidote to the chief thesis to be advanced. It might not be amiss to suggest that it could be widely distributed here to those souls who in their infatuation for an impossible corporate reunion are being held back from the Church.

In this connection, a story concerning a recent convert to Rome may be told. Coming to the Eternal City longing but undecided, he confided to another convert of some years that the last straw was his resentment at the words in the abjuration: "I detest, abhor and abjure the errors." He could not swallow these strong words leveled at all he had held dear. Imagine his amazement when his companion burst out in a frenzy: "Too strong. Why, man alive, they are not strong enough to express my feelings when I realize the treasures of which I have been deprived through these sophisms." Needless to say that the furor of his friend dissolved his *timor,* and he meekly repeated the formula and is now aiming at the priesthood. So may it be for many to whom it is hoped enlightenment will come through this interesting study.

Hunting's End

There were a hundred robins to every quail,
I walked all afternoon without lifting my gun;
When quail went up with a thunder of wings,
A screen of robins shielded every one.

Toward evening the robins slept in the toyon trees;
In the canyons I heard the quail I might have shot,
I should have been glad as a hawk to have killed one,
Still, I was content that I had not.

Marie de L. Welch

COMMUNICATIONS

MINING

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: The deplorable living conditions of the Kentucky and West Virginia coal miners, as described in the "Machine Age of the Hills," reviewed in your issue of May 12, is not restricted to those two states. Throughout the Union the living conditions of the coal miner are indeed unworthy of our great nation; but when the author, Mr. Malcolm Ross, suggests for improving the state of the miner and his family "the organization of labor and assumption by the union of the task of educating and civilizing its members", he clearly shows that he has given no broad or serious study to the problem, that he is not even aware of its essential factors.

If at any time the union leaders have put forward an improvement in the miners' living condition it has escaped the writer's attention. On the contrary, if we may be guided in our judgment by the union leaders' violent opposition to better living conditions for men engaged in other trades, for example, in the case of the National Cash Register Company, we shall be led to expect no help from union leaders in this much to be desired reform in the miner's daily life.

Obviously, the prosperity of every industry depends upon a sufficient output at a profitable price; so it should be equally clear that the two objectives, the only two, of the union leader, increase in pay with fewer hours, strike at the life of the business. Restrict the output, increase the labor cost, and a point is soon reached where the operator faces ruin. The miner's worst enemy will encourage the present day hostility between the employed and the employer caused by "more pay and less hours." The fact is that the average miner puts in less than two hundred and fifty working days a year, with the mines fully employed and the miner being paid the highest wage.

It is to be regretted that so little is known in our country about the admirable and entirely successful solution in Germany of this social problem. About half a century ago, the German Reich was stirred by a series of violent coal miners' strikes, which, in the end, had to be put down by the military, with loss of life. This led to a careful study of the problem by able, disinterested men. The report of the commission placed the blame for the strikes upon the wretched conditions under which the miners worked and lived. Hence came the reform:

When the German coal miner leaves his home in the morning to go to work, he wears his ordinary street clothes and he carries no dinner pail. At the mines he goes into the locker room, where he hangs his clothes in his locker, dons his mining suit and goes to work.

After her husband's departure, his wife sends the older children to school, the younger ones she takes to the kindergarten and, if there is a baby she leaves it at the expertly supervised home for infants.

Then she goes to the market place, where she exchanges a little chat with her friends and chaff with the market women. She makes her purchases and goes home. Re-

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lieved for a few hours from all worry and care of her children, she puts her house in order and makes ready for their return in due time.

Her husband did not take his dinner pail because he will get a good, hot meal at the mine. When his day is over, he comes back to the locker room, doffs his working clothes,—which will be washed in the steam laundry of the company—and going into the shower room, where every man employed must take a tepid shower bath before leaving the mine, he washes away all the grime and dirt from face and body. The great shower room has bathing facilities for every man, and the water temperature is regulated according to the weather. The miner puts on his street clothes and goes home, refreshed and in good spirits.

In the Reich the miners' homes are not all of one pattern; nor are they built in a row, with little back yards, in the United States pattern. In Germany each miner has a good-sized garden with his home, to be cultivated by himself and his family, in leisure hours, for vegetables and flowers, the delight of all classes in that country.

The strictest temperance is enforced among the miners, who may have beer and wine at pleasure; but the sale and consumption of schnapps is *streng verboten*.

The discipline in the mine is military in character, all rules are enforced absolutely and every thing is done to prevent accidents; which, in fact, happen very seldom. There is, moreover, a little emergency hospital, with beds and attendants, for every mine. Drills are held regularly.

Should some of the men have a grievance, it must be referred first to the union for consideration. Should the union approve, the matter is then passed to a committee of representative foremen and union leaders and then, if no settlement be reached, it is considered by the management and the union representatives.

The spiritual needs of the workmen are carefully looked after. They have an attractive church and a devoted pastor, supported usually by the state, at least in part.

There are other details of great interest, but sufficient has been said to indicate the road to an entirely successful solution of the coal miner's problem. This may be said without hesitation for in the twenty years before 1914 there was not one labor trouble of importance in the coal industry of the entire German Empire, and the industry prospered as never before.

HENRY B. BINSSE

ETHICS AND TAXATION

Somerville, Mass.

TO the Editor: The manner in which the burden of taxation is shifted by individuals and interests of influence and social standing to the average citizen, or wage earner, naturally creates the thought that ethics indicative of character are becoming too widely separated in our social and economic life, to the disadvantage of forces which support our constitutional authority and government, or, which maintain the principles that are necessary in the preservation of our American ideals.

It is gratifying to observe that the administration is utterly opposed to the principles of the law being violated, technically, or ethically, so that the future of our governmental functions will be fundamentally created with the thought of justice for all and equality of opportunity and service, to encourage a united nation in the support of its policies that afford equal opportunities to all and are humanitarian in application.

Recent investigations that disclose a premeditated purpose to violate certain laws, ethically at least, is unfortunately misconstrued by the majority of our people, creating the thought that laws so lightly respected should be considered equally applicable with the average citizen, so that forces opposed to constituted authority and government take advantage of the situation to promote their doctrine and create an element of dissastisfied people, that misunderstand the principles of a united nation, or its respect of law and order inculcated by our Constitution.

It is to be regretted that many of our representative people were inclined to consider various laws or procedure as applicable only to the average citizen or taxpayer, since it creates a dangerous precedent, in view of its effect on the people of the nation, who observe a different enforcement of the laws according to the status of interested persons in our social and economic life, so it is apparent that selfishness must be eradicated, and coöperation and coördination practically exemplified between capital and labor and industry and government, if we are to agree on a basic principle, which is that of confidence, and proportionately share in the community or national burdens that include welfare, taxation, employment, respect for law and order, and a supreme confidence in our nation and its representatives.

WM. H. BASTION.

NEW LIGHT ON BIRTH CONTROL

San Francisco, Cal.

TO the Editor: The only light we need on birth control is the light of the Gospel: "Seek you therefore first the kingdom of God, and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matthew, vi, 33).

That requires indeed great confidence in God; a sort of blind confidence; almost, if not as much, confidence as Peter had when, at his Lord's summons, he tried to walk upon the water. But we are all invited, if not commanded, to have that confidence.

Some say, "We cannot afford to have any more children." Are they not, at that very moment, distrusting God's providence? "O, ye of little faith."

Trusting in God discourages anxiety but not activity. "If any man will not work, neither let him eat" (II Thessalonians, iii, 10). Though God provides a living for the birds of the air, they must use their little powers to collect it. Trusting in God to provide doesn't mean we can be wasteful: "Gather up the fragments that remain, lest they be lost" (John, vi, 12); nor does it mean you can safely risk your life's savings in the greedy hope of getting rich overnight.

T. P. H.

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THE STAGE AND SCREEN

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

John Ferguson

THE CURRENT revival of St. John Ervine's famous play, John Ferguson, holds a double interest. First of all, it is a play of distinct historical importance, being one of the earliest productions of the Theatre Guild. Secondly, it marks the reappearance on our stage of Augustin Duncan—an actor of rare artistry and power who has fought valiantly against an impairment of eyesight which would have discouraged utterly any man of lesser tenacity and courage.

The Theatre Guild background of John Ferguson gives the play an almost legendary importance which, inherently, it does not merit. Its materials are trite and commonplace—the heavily mortgaged farm, the villainous holder of the mortgage who ruins the farmer's daughter, the avenging brother who kills the villain and the local village idiot who helps incite the vengeance. Even the dramatic treatment of these characters and situations is traditional. It is only in the dialogue and in various psychological touches of character that St. John Ervine succeeds in lifting the play to some distinction. At that, the main purpose of his writing seems to be an ironic comment on the trusting religious faith of old John Ferguson, as if the author were to say—"you behold the tragedies which come to a man who still believes in a just and merciful God." As if to add irony to irony, he arranges matters so that the entire sequence of tragic events turns upon the trivial point that John Ferguson's brother in America made a mistake of one day in mailing a letter, thus causing a fatal delay of two weeks in the arrival of the money by which the mortgage might have been paid off. Thus, the author would have us believe, work the alleged "mysterious designs of Providence."

Those who enjoy misery piled upon misery to prove an ironic thesis may admire the technique of John Ferguson. Certainly it has many individual scenes of high dramatic intensity. But those who happen to cherish that special integrity of the theatre which makes it cling to character and logic rather than artificial situations will find the argument of the play specious and irritating.

The character of John Ferguson, himself, while dominating the mood of the play, is less well drawn than many of the others, chiefly because Mr. Ervine makes the use he does of the old man's religious faith and resignation. The acting of Augustin Duncan in the part is, however, the high and brilliant point of the present revival. Lillian Savin as the daughter and Lucy Beaumont as the wife also give performances of rare integrity and true feeling. Barry Macollum as the idiot and Edward Favor as Jimmie Caesar present well drawn characterizations. The pace of the production on the first night was too slow.

It is my understanding that Augustin Duncan is to stage other revivals in the near future. If so, they will merit wide attention for the sincerity and power he can infuse into a group of actors. Mr. Duncan deserves well of American audiences.

Private Detective 62

THE SINGULAR ineptitude of Hollywood is well illustrated in this latest William Powell picture. Private Detective 62 starts out with all the material necessary for a capital adventure mystery, breaks in with a midway section of low grade farce and then tries rather vainly to recapture some of its initial possibilities. I submit that this is all too characteristic of Hollywood's inability to understand the integrity of good story telling.

A secret service agent of the State Department succeeds in obtaining certain papers from the French government, but is subsequently caught. Thereupon, of course, the State Department disavows all knowledge of him. His passport is cancelled, and he is deported from France as an undesirable alien—a man without a country. Nor can the State Department re-employ him for a "decent" length of time. In all this we have the foundation for a real adventure story—the man of ability without country and without job, unable to give references and unable to find work. But at this point Hollywood injects farce. The ex-operative, after weeks of wandering, falls in with a comic-strip detective agency. There follow several scenes of slap-stick variety. Then, of a sudden, the head of the agency manages to get a prominent gangster to finance larger scale operations in the interest of blackmail. Just why any intelligent gangster should hire as complete an ass as the head of this agency remains an insoluble mystery. Another mystery is why a high grade ex-State Department operative should make himself a party to the scheme. At all events, the agency is set the job of embroiling an attractive young lady in a compromising situation so that the gangster's gambling house need not pay her the amount of her heavy winnings. From this point on, adventure and romance reassert themselves—but too late to keep the illusion of a real story.

William Powell as the man without a country and Margaret Lindsay as the agency's intended victim do effective work once the story gets well under way—but they can not prevent the sense of futility with which an audience must watch the butchering of a good idea. I do not hold for a minute to the notion that the pictures should be high-brow. Good farce or good melodrama should be as much a part of their fare as more ambitious undertakings. But there is an integrity in story telling of any sort, the kind of fixed purpose that holds farce to its own line, or keeps melodrama within its own tense limits. Once that integrity of mood is broken, there is no more illusion. This does not preclude comic relief in melodrama. But it does demand that comedy should not be inserted at the expense of plausibility. And that is exactly what the producers of Private Detective 62 have done. The film by itself is not worth much attention. But as an example of poor dramatic technique and of one of Hollywood's besetting dramatic sins, it might repay a visit. There is such a thing as salvaging interest from even a poor play or picture.

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BOOKS

Controllers of Society

The Modern Corporation and Private Property, by Adolph A. Berle, jr., and Gardiner C. Means. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

THE publishers in seeking a market for this book might well look to the large registration of those who have learned at high tuition charges in the school of stock market experience. For the half million persons whose investments in stocks made up 75 percent of corporation ownership, and for the several million others now again venturing a hesitant return to tape reading, this text should be required reading. The progress of the tired business man, former rentier or even professional trustee through the highly condensed material will not be rapid, for this is no glib exposition or popular outline, nor is it made attractive by witty denunciation of the "best people" in finance. Those who are caught in the present-day search for obtaining the benefits of careful and studious investigation of investment possibilities without any effort will not persevere, but will turn to the investment trust, or to the brokerage office gossip as of yore.

Not that this work is a text on investment; it is a study of the social importance of the ways in which corporations are financed and operated. For example, the authors are at great pains to show how loose a rein the courts have on the controlling clique of large enterprises. Similarly the large stock holder is shown to be not an owner in actuality but somewhat in the status of a bondholder unable to enforce his claim. The chapter on the routing of earnings shows how little influence the "A" or prior lien preferred stockholder has on the dividend payments.

However, the authors are careful to point out the effect of the courts to protect the interests of the stockholders. It appears as though the blame for the financial recklessness on the part of the controlling clique must be placed on the ignorance and carelessness of the investors and their lethargic legal advisers.

If the stockholders' meeting were not the dull routine of validating the acts of the directors and their unopposed reëlection, many of the important questions relating to the responsibility of directors and their appointees would long since have been adjudicated. The authors seem to have slighted the importance of the investment bankers' inability to stand up for his trusting clients. It is now a well-established fact that competition in the field since 1920 has forced the bankers to run after the corporation treasurer for new financing. The borrower or promoter has been able to dictate the terms to the bankers because of the unseemly scramble to replenish the supply of new securities. In a notorious holding company collapse the bankers who supplied the funds took into their partnership the promoter whose stocks and bonds they were recommending to their clients.

The answer to the significant question raised by the authors—will the "control" in the corporation be forced by regulation or judicial alertness to assume their responsibilities to the public, consumers, employees and competitors, as well as stockholders and bondholders?—is: The operation of the Federal Securities Act, the aroused conscience of the boards of governors of the stock exchanges, the public penances now being performed by investment bankers before senatorial investigating committees, the growing interest in the insecurity of labor, and above all the length and severity of the depression point to a recognition of these responsibilities. That is, the large corporation will continue to be dominated by a clique which may have no more than the 10 percent of stock ownership now necessary, in most cases, to effect control, but the members of the clique will be forced to assume the burden of the duties and liabilities of trustees for all those who have a vital interest in the operation of the enterprise. This means that the superman now boasting membership in directorates in fifty companies will disappear.

There is one conclusion which may easily be challenged. In describing the two hundred largest corporations (excluding financial, banking or insurance companies) which control 38 percent of the wealth used in business (p. 32), the authors say: "The trend of the recent past indicates, however, that the great corporation, already of tremendous importance today, will become increasingly important in the future" (p. 41). This statement seems unwarranted because even a cursory examination of the earnings records of the largest corporation during the best years shows that they have grown because they have been able to borrow or sell stock to yield very low current returns. That is, they have enjoyed a financing advantage over their small rivals. A comparison of net earnings per dollar of assets used in the enterprise supports the conclusion that the very large company is less efficient. The income statements in the oil and steel industries during the flush period, 1924-1927, show unmistakably the diminishing rate of productivity of the swollen assets of supercorporations. Many a proud member of the two hundred will never resume even the meager dividends that were paid to stockholders; nor will they be able to expand by the plowing back of earnings withheld from stockholders who could be put off with a stock dividend, or rumors of hidden assets. The collapse of "impregnable" banks, grown to unmanageable proportions through successive mergers and the sale of $2.00 or $4.00 dividend stock to gullible customers at $100 to $400 per share has exposed the tragic fallacies that size and efficiency are not necessarily coupled. Even now, the progress of share prices in the recent market "boomlet" shows a tendency for speculators to favor concerns not on the two hundred list.

However, this conclusion is only part of the introduction and detracts scarcely at all from the authors' theses.

The only other criticisms of the economic conclusions in this text relate to the implied contention that competition is archaic, and a refusal to recognize the importance of the platitude that the interests of all who deal with an enterprise whether as customers, employees, stockholders, or tax collectors are the same in the long run. The powerful sheltered union which exacts a wage rate above its productivity is doomed as is the industrialist who pays himself a million dollars from the depreciation fund.

GEORGE K. MCCABE.

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The Pathetic Fallacy

The Whig Interpretation of History, by H. Butterfield. London: G. Bell and Sons.

IT IS astonishing, as Mr. Butterfield notes in the introduction to his important and sorely needed little book, to what an extent the most widely read English historians have been Protestant, Whig and "the very model of the nineteenth-century gentleman." Even when they were agnostics like Hume they still retained the Protestant culture and bias. Even when they were reactionary like Hallam, who had the good sense to attack the Great Reform Bill, they remained faintly Whiggish in their point of view. Even if, like Froude, they could hardly be called gentlemen, they retained the air of belonging to that class. Whatever they were in their religious philosophy or private morals, they could always safely be found on the side of the angels—as they would have put it—the celestial spirits in question being those who presided over the Reformation, or the good old cause of Parliament versus the Stuart "tyrant."

Mr. Butterfield is far too scrupulous to suggest that the Whig historian had any vested interest in deliberate mendacity. His principal sins as a writer were wholly historic, and not in the least moral, exception made for Froude on the subject of Mary Stuart and her foes. They lay rather in a too eager simplification of facts, a tendency to over dramatize and a weakness for reading the motives and causes of the present into the past. Mr. Butterfield's favorite example of these defects is the case of Luther versus the Papacy. "The Whig historian," he writes, "likes to draw lines through certain events, some such line as that which leads through Luther and a long succession of Whigs to modern liberty; and he forgets that this line is merely a mental trick of his own, and comes to imagine that it represents a real line of causation."

My only objections to this most valuable book is that it is too brief, and that its author is so fascinated by the modern error about Luther that he drags it in by way of example, again and again, as if, forsooth, the Reformation were the only problem on which the Whig historian had misled his generation. Surely a splendid and much racier volume could be compiled at the expense of the Whigs and their annalists which might begin by an exposure of Gibbon on the Primitive Church and end with one of Mr. Trevelyan on the Risorgimento. The test case for such a book, in our opinion, and one on which Americans of all people most need to be corrected, is that of the Stuarts against their Puritan and Whig Parliaments. The American colonies owe a good deal more to the former than has ever been admitted in our text-books, while the American Revolution was not half so much fought against George III as against Parliamentary rule.

A colorful personal bias in a historian which can be recognized and discounted, is not undesirable, but no historian should abridge, oversimplify or otherwise organize his material in such a way that the ultimate result is deliberately untruthful.

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A Saint of the Pen

Saint Jerome, the Early Years, by Paul Monceaux; translated by F. J. Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward. $2.00.

M. MONCEAUX'S book on the youth of Saint Jerome grew out of two studies which he had printed in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* entitled "Saint Jerome in the Desert of Syria." Although the first two parts of the present volume deal with the childhood and school days of the saint and with his life up to the entry into the desert, what the author is most concerned to set straight, in the third part, are the common errors, perpetuated chiefly in certain masterpieces of art, that Saint Jerome in the desert was an old man and that he had a lion as a companion. Jerome lived in the Desert of Chalcis, fifty-three miles from Antioch, from his twenty-eighth to his thirtieth year, and the tame lion which tradition pictures around him was of the later time when he was Abbot of Bethlehem.

It has also been determined by contemporary research that Saint Jerome was born in 347, not in 331. This will spike the idea, upon which painters have embroidered, that he was a centenarian. His birthplace, Stridon, has at last been definitely located in the region of Aquileia. Hence Jerome was an Italian, not a Dalmatian or a Slav.

A pithy and quickly moving book, at least in Mr. Sheed's translation, "Saint Jerome" remakes the youth of its protagonist. Jerome's parents were nominal Catholics. As baptism in the early years of the Church was administered late, Jerome was nineteen or twenty when he received the sacrament. M. Monceaux explains that people then waited, not to attain to years of discretion (the generally adduced reason), but, more cynically, to have the sins of youth behind them. That would make complete remission of the sins easier.

While in Treves, a center of Christianity and of asceticism on the Oriental model, Jerome made a vow to become a hermit in the service of God. A rift with his worldly minded parents ensued.

Finally, however, Jerome went to the desert. There he found great happiness in prayer, fasting, meditation, immense reading and the labors of copying treatises. But controversies over theological subjects among the anchorites who thronged the wilderness wore his patience. Disillusioned, he left his hermitage after two years.

There M. Monceaux's account unfortunately ends, but it burns into us the picture of a very great rhetorician, polemicist, letter-writer, and literary genius, producer of the Vulgate and author of the "Life of Saint Paul the Hermit." All who ply the trade of letters, as M. Monceaux says, should know him. If he was high-strung, irascible and resentful by nature, his heart was solid gold. He was a stylist and persuasive scholar.

This attractive volume, the valuable research of which is cloaked under forthright simplicity and delightful illustrations, should bring this little-known Father of the Church close to us, a truly vital and a most engaging figure.

JAMES W. LANE.

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Strong Metal

Le Origini Artigiane, Industriali e Mercantili Di Roma, by Pericle Perali. Rome: Sindicato Italiano Arte Grafiche. Lire 10.

FOR THE average mind the pretensions to immortality of Rome, the city, constitute a minor but more annoying challenge than do the overwhelming claims of Rome, the Catholic Church. Quite apart from Catholic reasons for believing in the perennial vitality of the Church, the fact is there for anyone to see. But the case for Rome, the city, is not so clear. It can claim, though, as an irreducible minimum and quite justly, that there can be no new theory concerning its origin, no new laying bare of the evidence of its life in the past, no reordering of its life in the present, that does not compel the attention in every nation where books are read and the sense of history persists. And that, which can be claimed for no other city, no other civilization, is sufficiently important.

Professor Pericle Perali has published recently a new and stimulating theory concerning the industrial and metallurgical origins of Rome in their relation to the mythology of the early kings. His book is attracting considerable attention and certainly will be read by students in America. Formerly Curator of the Museum of Etruscan Antiquities in Perugia, Professor Perali for some years now has been attached to the Archives of the Vatican Library. Poet, playwright, archaeologist and historian, in all his work there is a strange quality of precise enthusiasm: his facts form into patterns of theory while his theory never departs very far from his facts. His indeed is a remarkable example of the best archaeological attitude: that of the man who brings life from stones.

The short text of the present volume is in Italian and in Latin. It moves swiftly in short precise chapters to its novel conclusions, and is difficult to summarize as the author already has excluded from it all that is in any way irrelevant. Briefly the theme treated is this. In very early times the hills and valleys now forming Rome were inhabited by a pastoral folk who lived in huts, cremated their dead, or buried them in little imitation huts, and gave absolutely no special importance or promise of development to the site they occupied on the banks of the Tiber. "This was not, and could not become, Rome." What made Rome was the establishment of metallurgy. Metal workers of Etruscan, Sabine and Alban origin and of very different degrees of technical ability, gathered to create that which in its known history and topography bears all the signs of the industrial city. The inherent needs of such a city created the necessity of dominating the surrounding country for food supply and also the procuring of a foreign market for its produce: both formative elements of empire. Incidentally it was the industrial city's indifference to other people's opinion and religion as long as they could be made into customers that conditioned Rome's generally pacific treatment of the conquered. This industrial origin of Rome is generally admitted. Professor Perali brings new and convincing proof of it, but he goes further and reaches undoubted originality.

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Briefer Mention

Magic Waters, By Grace Thompson Seton, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

THE WITTY and charming author of "A Woman Tenderfoot" here tells an entertaining tale of travels in South American wilds and some cities of both very old and quite new civilizations. She is an experienced observer of the minute aspects of nature and can describe them in a manner that re-creates and makes real a scene for the reader, without either scientific jargon or unscientific pyramids of presumption balanced on a pinnacle of fact. Besides her colorful account of the jungle and wild life, and her later varied travels, she gives a most amusing insight into the strained social relations of the expedition in their isolation and forced intimacy.

The Incompetents, by R. E. Spencer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.00.

A SLIGHT twist would have given Mr. Spencer's novel a very explicit and powerful moral. By implication his story is an argument against divorce, although he might be quite correct in denying that such was his intention. He has treated his general theme very objectively even when dealing with reactions which are essentially subjective, and at no time steps aside from his microscope to deliver a lecture. Mrs. Barrett, his heroine, is herself a woman who detaches all her intellectual processes from emotions. She continues her married life, thoroughly aware that it is unsatisfactory, for the sake of her daughter, Angela, and then, with Angela married, deliberately seeks divorce. The consequences of that divorce to the parasitic Mr. Barrett, Angela and Angela's husband are of such tremendous import that Mrs. Barrett's fine sense of responsibility thrusts her into the task of averting imminent disaster. With some slight exception for a style that occasionally falls into obscurity, Mr. Spencer has written a really splendid novel. The seriousness, completeness and accurateness of character and psychological reaction he offers are qualities which are too often lacking in modern fiction.

CONTRIBUTORS

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